REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.	AUG. 5TH	AUG. 5-1922	EDW. P. MORSE.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RADICAL CONFERENCE AND CONVENTIONS.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

--- ATTENTION MR. HOOVER ---

REFERENCE: Letter from the Director June 14, 1922, initialed "JFR:JR" (J.E.H.) requesting advance information on Radical Conventions & Conferences . .....

In re. the above, the only notice of conventions noted during the past week is that of the GENERAL I. W. W. CONVENTION called for Nov. 13, 1922, at Chicago, Illinois.

* * * * * * * * * * *

[illegible] 10/22/62 Leo Bjorklund

AUG 28 1922

61-1225-35

61-1744

REFERENCE: JBV.

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: WASHINGTON 3. FILE 1. SEATTLE 1. LOS ANGELES 1.

7—H69

NAVY DEPARTMENT

OFFICE OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON

1385

In reply refer to No.
Op.16-B
REI:AM
21036-3636

11 December, 1922.

1225

DEC 13 1922

Dear Mr. Burns:

Forwarded herewith are circulars from the General Defense Committee, which were forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief Pacific Fleet in the attached envelope.

Very truly yours,

L. McNamee
Captain, U. S. N.
Director of Naval Intelligence.

R. E. Ingersoll
Commander, USN
By Direction

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
DEC 16 1922
DIVISION

Mr. W. J. Burns,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

DEC 21 1922

Encl.

61-1225-36

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEC 18 P
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
HOOVER

Read by
DEC 1 1922
Wm. J. Burns

General Defense Committee

HARRY FEINBERG, *Secretary*

1001 WEST MADISON STREET

CHICAGO, ILL.

394

TO THE CITIZENS OF CALIFORNIA:-

We ask that you read the enclosed literature because it is vital both to you and to us that you understand the whole truth about the I.W.W. In California, and only in California, the reactionary forces are waging a relentless systematic campaign to suppress the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization which is entirely legal in the eyes of the United States government, and which is given a clean bill of health by the courts of every other commonwealth. The literature we offer you has a direct bearing upon the prosecutions in California because those prosecutions have behind them the same forces which utilized the hysteria of the world war in a sweeping effort to smash the I.W.W. into bits.

Bitter onslaughts against this organization, either in the courts or at the hands of mobs or over-zealous police, have taken place in recent times at Sacramento, San Pedro, Los Angeles, Stockton, Taft, San Francisco, Eureka, El Centro, Indio, Groveland, and Fresno. One of the most flagrant of these injustices was the action of the prosecutor in Sacramento county in having defense witnesses arrested and charged with criminal syndicalism solely because they admitted on the stand that they were members of the I.W.W. Judge Malcolm Glenn lent aid and comfort to the prosecution by refusing to let any person testify for the defense concerning the I.W.W. unless he was a member of that organization.

In trial after trial the prosecuting attorneys have used professional witnesses in their efforts to convict I.W.W. defendants. These witnesses, who are paid $10 a day and expenses, confess glibly on the stand that they set fire to barns and haystacks and committed other depredations -- for which they have never been prosecuted. At Sacramento, in the latest trial, a witness named Townsend told a sensational story of an alleged plot to permit spoiled canned goods to be shipped from Chicagp packing houses to soldiers in France. He claimed that he took part in this conspiracy.

Shortly after that trial the U.S. Department of Agriculture issued an official statement showing that Townsend's statement was absurd; that it would have been impossible for such a thing to have happened, in view of the rigid government inspection of all canned goods shipped to the army in France. One juror questioned Townsend and brought out the fact that Townsend had repeatedly enlisted in the military service and repeatedly deserted, and was never prosecuted for any of these desertions, although the Department of Justice knew about them when Townsend was arrested some time ago. In admitting the desertions, Townsend said: "But that has been all fixed up."

Despite the attacks upon the I.W.W. in California, that organization continues to expand in your State. Its avowed and actual purpose is to abolish the wage system, under which those who toil are often held in virtual slavery; to bring about ownership of the machinery of production by the workers; and to build up a new society within the shell of the old. It long ago took a positive stand against violence as a means for industrial or social change, contending that such methods do more harm than good for the cause of labor. Its newspapers enjoy second class privileges granted by the U.S. Post Office Department.

Recently a federal official in Portland, Oregon, was urged to suppress the I.W.W. because its marine workers industrial union had gone on strike on the water-front to abolish the black-list, but that official answered that the government could not properly proceed against the I.W.W. unless there was evidence of some overt act, as the organization was completely legal.

But in California, under the rulings of the State courts, no overt act is required to send a worker to prison to serve from one to fourteen years. All that is necessary is proof of membership in the I.W.W. Twenty-four or more members are now confined at San Quentin on this single contention.

We want you to consider the peril to fundamental human liberties which now exists throughout California. Every intelligent worker within your boundaries is in danger at any time of being arrested and put into prison. Only because of the indifference of public opinion can the State authorities continue this vicious program of persecution. Has it ever occurred to you that the prosecution of the I.W.W. offers an effective smoke-screen behind which graft may go on untrammelled? And who pays for all this but you? Each trial costs a great deal of money. It provides work for special investigators and jobs for politicians and court stenographers, at high rates.

The attacks upon the I.W.W. in California have become so malignant that even the European press is condemning the violation of human liberties in your State. Lately l'Humanite, one of the great newspapers of France, devoted two columns to a scathing criticism of the California authorities. And the press in England has dealt at length with the facts about California.

We call upon you to write at once to your newspaper and to the responsible officials protesting against the continued persecution of I.W.W. members. This is urgently necessary to combat the one-sided news of I.W.W. arrests and trials published in many papers.

Yours for industrial freedom,

Harry Feinberg
Secretary.

HF-MS

social service. They have in a sense, insofar as such a place will permit, dominated their surroundings and made their own world. Several have enrolled in the University of Wisconsin extension courses in electricity, medicine and so on, many are writers."

Some of Them as Individuals.

James P. Thompson—after about three years on the Leavenworth "rock pile," studying mechanics in all spare time, especially in reference to motors, now has charge of prison garages and teaches in prison night school. Called "the rough-necked Isaiah of the American proletariat." Fond of quoting Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom where it is developed in detail how the industrial interests in America control the whole machinery of government.

"Red" Doran—a blacksmith and an idealist. "Conscience? He was a living and uncompromising conscience. Principle? He does not live by it. It lived in him. Honor, self-sacrifice, and love? In every conviction he expressed, these were fundamental."

Ralph Chaplin—poet, whose singing lines have been widely printed in the radical and liberal press, a volume of whose poetry has now been published.

Mortimer Downing—nearly sixty years old, a newspaper man "well-educated, widely travelled, with friends among people of influence all over the world." Refused a position in the prison printing plant, easier by far, and one for which he was fitted, to remain "runner" for "rock pile" gang, involving exposure, because thus he could serve the others best individually.

G. J. Bourg—a construction worker, with a history of indefatigable organizing for the I. W. W. in harvest fields and lumber camps. Beaten up by "Vigilantes" and "Citizens' Committees," he would crawl into camp until he was "fit," then out to work again.

Sam Scarlett—will give no other nationality than "citizen of industry." A champion socker football player, skilled machinist and electrician; an able speaker.

Robert Connellan—sixty, a graduate of University of California, a chemist and a musician, playing in prison orchestra.

George O'Connell—a hard student; has made himself proficient in electricity.

Alexander Cournos—was assistant "weatherman" in South Dakota.

Caesar Tabib and Edward Quigley, suffering from tuberculosis, contracted or aggravated in Sacramento jail where they spent a year before they were brought to trial. Application for "clemency" made at earnest solicitation of their fellows refused by Department of Justice.

William Weyh—ill with hemorrhages, 12 in a single day, from exposure on "rock pile," accepted release only after declaring in writing, "I have not wavered in my adherence to the I. W. W. and its principles."

What They Stand For.

In an Open Letter to the President, 52 members of the I. W. W. in Leavenworth penitentiary answer Mr. Harding's expressed "surprise" that any man should be unwilling to justify his innocence by making application for individual clemency. Describing themselves as "workingmen conscious of our position in society and guilty only of championing the cause of the class to which we belong," they set forth their reasons for such refusal, together with their economic and social philosophy.

Stating Their Own Case. "We are not criminals and not in prison because we committed crimes or conspired to commit them—the truth of our case (has been) withheld from the public. We have been surrounded continuously by a network of false accusations—crimes never mentioned during our trials are charged against us. We were 'framed up' by the newspapers and business interests. We are innocent of any crime or intent to commit crime."

"Our conviction was obtained upon a narrow margin of legal interpretation at a time when sane judgment was impossible. * * * In the capitalistic newspaper, the I. W. W. is like the Mexican in a movie show; he is always the villain."

"Technically, we are not behind the bars for hindering the government's prosecution of the war. No overt act of this kind was charged against us nor proved. We are charged with conspiring to hinder the war by means of spoken and printed words. This is the charge, but the truth is that we are in prison for recognizing the irrefutable fact of the class struggle and for advocating the solidarity of labor."

"We believe in and uphold civil liberty because we are convinced that only through open and free discussion can the right idea prevail. Ideals are matters which cannot be altered by force. We claim that the honest convictions of the human mind cannot be caged with iron bars; we claim that the stream of human progress cannot be damned with prison walls."

The Social Service Bulletin

Issued Every Month Except July and August by
THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE
150 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

EDITORS: HARRY F. WARD; WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL

The general policies of this publication are determined by the Executive Committee of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, subject to approval by the General Council of the Federation. The selection of topics and material is committed to the Secretary and Associate Secretary, who are responsible to the Federation and to the public for its accuracy.

Entered as second-class matter January 21, 1919, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y. under Act of August 24, 1912

Volume 12 NOVEMBER, 1922 No. 9

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Present Situation.

Those Released. Of many hundreds of convictions under the Espionage Acts, all but 66 are now free, among them war profiteers, German agents, and others convicted of direct aid to Germany during the war. During the "Christmas Grace" 1921, a man was released by commutation from Leavenworth who had been sentenced for leaving the United States illegally during the war and selling plans of American machine guns to German officers in Mexico. Recently Captain Robert Fay, who attempted to blow up a munition ship in New York harbor in 1916 and who broke jail and was at large for over a year after his incarceration, was freed and permitted to slip out of the country.

Still in Jail. There are in federal prisons today, nearly four years after the close of the war, 66 men convicted under the Espionage Act and other wartime measures restricting the freedom of speech. All but two of these are at Leavenworth, under sentences ranging from 5 to 20 years. All but five are members of the I. W. W. convicted in the three conspiracy cases tried in Chicago, Sacramento and Kansas City. The sole charge against them is expression of opinion; charges of sabotage, destruction of property, etc., were thrown out as unproven by the appellate courts in Chicago and Wichita cases. Sacramento case—men from rank and file selected as "horrible examples" in distinction to Chicago case composed largely of officers, organizers, etc.—could not be appealed on the evidence because the men adopted the "silent defense," refusing to "participate in their own legal lynching."

Other countries granted general amnesty within a year after the war.

The Sentences. In Chicago, jurors took only fifty-five minutes to consider the cases of 100 men, and to impose sentences as follows: 15 men, 20 years each; 33 men, 10 years each; 33 men, 5 years each; 1 man, 18 months; 12 men, 1 year and 1 day; 2 men, 10 days in the county jail; 4 men, no sentence; sentences parcelled out "in a haphazard manner."

The Kansas City cases range from 7½ to 9 years; the Sacramento cases from 5 to 10 years.

The Kind of Men They Are.

As Seen by an Outsider. "A thoroughly mixed lot—almost a cross-section—of typical American workingmen. Most of them are manual workers—from the mines, logging camps, the ships and docks, and from the harvest fields of the west. A number are skilled mechanics from the cities, and a few are professional men—writers, editors of labor papers, and one a lawyer (though not a member of the I. W. W.).

"They are for the most part strong, robust men in the thirties and forties, self-educated and therefore well-educated, alert on industrial and economic issues—characterized as a whole by personal earnestness, and almost religious zeal for the cause of the working-class. * * * Abounding in good humor, of almost no bitterness of spirit, of conspicuous integrity and clean habits of living. * * * After three years of imprisonment, the men's spirits on the whole are high, their unity unbroken, their radical working-class philosophy untouched."

As Reported by One of Their Own Number. "Practically all of these 52 men (the I. W. W. who have refused to apply for pardon) have taken up some definite study or course of reading and are fitting themselves for various kinds of work and

"We believe this change to be inevitable,—the next step in the evolution of human society. Five years of brutal persecution have not changed our convictions about these things in the least."

Policy of the Administration.

The Department of Justice. "The real difficulty in getting cases to the President lies in the system of red tape and political manipulation inside the Department of Justice. The politics are engineered from the Attorney General's office, the red tape from the Pardon Attorney's. It is an antiquated system, dependent upon reference to the trial prosecutors and trial judges for reports on the men. These reports are often prejudiced, false, and usually quite beside the facts in the records. They reflect all the current prejudices against radicals. In many cases, deliberate falsehoods, due to secret reports from the Bureau of Investigation have been made public."—American Civil Liberties Union.

Examples of false statements are reported in the Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches of March 11, 1921.

Attitude of the President. Opportunistic; apparently wanting to free the men, but restrained for political reasons by the press and "patriotic" organizations; for a long period, he declines to receive delegations; again welcomes them heartily.

There were 175 men in prison at the beginning of the Administration; Espionage Act had been suspended March 3rd. Nineteen of these men released at "Christmas Peace," among them Eugene V. Debs; after "Children's Crusade" 16 more were released; terms of 17 others expired. July 19th, President received amnesty delegation representing church, liberal and radical groups, headed by Father R. A. McGowan of Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council, bearing a petition signed by 300,000.

The President has seemed to be of impression that the I. W. W. prisoners are in on industrial counts. Statement issued from White House regarding list released at Christmas: "It is made up of less than a third of I. W. W. prisoners and these have either expressed full penitence or are booked for deportation. The Department of Justice has given no recommendation in behalf of the advocates of sabotage or the destruction of government by force and the President let it be known that he would not consider such cases." As a matter of fact, there were no such cases. The President promised delegation of July, 1919, that all cases would be reviewed within 60 days; intimated he was willing to release all except those who advocated overthrow of government by force. There are none such in prison today.

Present attitude of President is that during industrial conflicts I. W. W. and other radicals should not be released, but that the cases should be taken up slowly and singly later.

Public Opinion.

The Secular Press. Some strong dailies, notably the Philadelphia Public Ledger and Chicago Tribune have published false reports. Others, as New York World and New York Evening Post, and all the Hearst and Scripps papers, have editorially criticized the policy of the Administration and have endorsed general amnesty.

The Church Press. Among others, Christian Work, Zion's Herald, The Churchman and The Christian Century, have carried strong editorial pleas for amnesty.

Church Bodies. The Federal Council of Churches, and the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council have consistently urged general amnesty; resolutions in behalf of amnesty have been passed by the Rock River, Colorado, and Puget Sound Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, by the Chicago and Boston Church Federations.

Other Efforts. The ceaseless work of such bodies as the American Civil Liberties Union and the General Defense Committee have been supplemented by the activities of many other organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party, the Society of Friends, and the World War Veterans.

Source Material. Survey Graphic, October, 1922, article by Pierce C. Wetter, "The Men I Left at Leavenworth."

"An Open Letter to President Harding from 52 members of the I. W. W. in Leavenworth Penitentiary."

"The Truth About the I. W. W. Prisoners" and other publications of American Civil Liberties Union.

News Service of the Federal Council of Churches; National Catholic Welfare Council; General Defense Committee. The Church press.

This Bulletin brings down to date the situation discussed in our issue of March, 1921. We then asked what influence the churches could and should exert in the matter in view of their declaration regarding liberty of conscience.

Have you done anything?

What is needed is direct communications to the President.

Attitude toward their own release. "We know that we are now in prison solely for exercising the constitutional right of free speech at a time when discretion might have been the better part of altruism. If it is a crime to exercise the right for which our fathers laid down their lives, then we have no apology to offer. Free speech has always been the one thing we have prized above all others. * * * We cannot bring ourselves to make application for clemency because we wish to avoid being forced into action that would make hypocrites of us all.

"Liberty is sweet to any man in prison, but not sweet enough to be purchased at the price of principle. We feel we owe it to the loyal men and women outside of these walls who still believe in freedom of speech, assemblage and the press, to remain steadfast. * * * We cannot do otherwise than refuse to recant. We must continue to refuse to beg for a pardon, which in common justice ought to have been accorded to us long ago."

"Insignificant as we are and little as we count in the universal scheme of things, the ideals that we stand for are not insignificant. They are big and dynamic. * * * It matters little what happens to us, but if the American people lose the right of free speech, the loss will be irreparable.

"There are other reasons, too, why we must decline to make individual application for clemency. We were not convicted as individuals but as a group. We were convicted of a 'conspiracy' of which we are all equally innocent or all equally guilty. We believe that it would be a base act for us to sign individual applications and leave the Attorney General's office to select which of our members should remain in prison and which should go free."

" * * * We prefer to stand together as a group, just as we were convicted."

"We serve notice upon the men who directed our inquisition that their medieval methods of seeking to change the convictions of human minds by force have failed. If it is their intention to keep us in prison until we admit we are wrong about those things, they might as well throw away the keys at once. They will never need them."

Attitude Toward War. "We did not look upon the war in Europe with approval, but at the same time we did not elect to advise our members not to register nor to desert, nor to be mutinous or disloyal. Such a procedure by reason of its recklessness and obvious futility, would have endangered the very existence of our organization. It happens that such interpretations were tortured out of our publications and records, but only at the expense of truth and fair-dealing.

"Our 'conspiracy' to oppose the war consisted in pointing out the economic causes of all wars and in showing that unemployment, reaction and misery invariably follow in their own wake. We tried to show that war, in spite of all that has been said about its noble purposes and beneficial results, usually results in making the rich richer and the poor poorer."

"Members of the I. W. W. were advised (in our weekly newspaper Solidarity) to register, but to register 'I. W. W. opposed to war.' This was done in order to record a moral protest against what we conceived to be the inevitable onrush toward world disaster. Further than this expression of disapproval, we committed no act that could possibly be construed as criminal or 'overt.'"

"We did not rashly seek to array our feeble strength against the colossal sweep of the world's conflagration. No matter how sharp our disapproval nor how clearly we saw the ruin and devastation it would bring, we were not so foolish as to imagine that we could stop the war. We felt we had done all in our power by stating the truth as we saw it."

Their Ideals.—"It is true that the admittedly small membership of the I. W. W. and its elected officials were opposed to capitalistic wars as a matter of general principle. Both the officials and the rank-and-file were endeavoring to build, in their modest way, a civilization in which war and human exploitation were impossible. To this end, our efforts were unceasingly directed.

"We believed in 1917 and we believe now that the present social and economic order is wasteful, planless, chaotic and criminal. We are frankly dissatisfied with this arrangement of things, which we call capitalism. We seek to replace it with a well-ordered and scientifically managed system in which the actual producers will own, democratically control and have access to the earth and machinery of production, carrying on the production of goods for the benefit of many instead of the enrichment of the few.

"We want to help build up a system of society without class hatreds or class struggles—without any classes at all—a system wherein social parasitism and exploitation of man by man will be forever impossible. We believe this system will be one of productive cooperation instead of commercial competition, and that workingmen, farmers and engineers can so order the world that the only distinctions between various groups of human beings will be those of culture, personality, refinement, and the ability to serve the common good. We are striving, in short, to build up a civilization worthy of the intelligence of man.